

PEACE NEWS

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The Double-Edged Sword

by Corder Catchpool

ON the supposition that they will lead to a step forward in world morality by the institution of supra-national legislation and judicial procedure, Roy Sherwood, in Peace News (Dec. 28) expresses the view that the War-Trials taking place at Nuremberg and elsewhere may be the overdue beginnings of a new reign of Law. If we condemn an individual for carrying out national orders, we cannot, as he says picturesquely, leave him "hanging between the devil of national government and the deep sea of punishment by an international court; or expect him to choose between being hanged by his country's executioner and being shot by executioners of another nationality . . . There must either be a world law, or lawlessness will spread under the effects of what was intended to be a step in advance."

Roy Sherwood's arguments merit our respectful attention, but we may doubt his lofty estimate of the quality and significance of these trials. The new sword of justice is, he admits, double-edged. It may cut the way forward to World-Law, or it may extend the present prevailing lawlessness. "It would be nice to feel optimism," he confesses doubtfully. Is there any adequate moral or rational ground for optimism?

The old axiom

It is probably true, as Roy Sherwood says, that human nature is not elevated enough to move forward, except in a situation in which beaten enemies provided the first culprits. That condition does not seem propitious for the inauguration of a new Reign of Law. It re-establishes the old axiom of sole war-guilt, which poisoned from birth the new system of international morality we hoped would grow up with the young League of Nations, a blemish largely responsible for its early death.

World justice does indeed require a world-tribunal. "It is obvious that the duty to resist one kind of Authority (national) cannot be imposed without providing the protection of another, which must be higher and greater," says Roy Sherwood. Good, but at these war-trials the criminals are being tried and will presumably be punished without that protection. We find the principal accusers constituting themselves both judge and executioner; and the few countries which were neutral to the extent of abstaining from participation in the war, are not only excluded from the Nuremberg judiciary panel, but even from the United Nations Organization.

The ideal trial

A recent article on the Trials in Time and Tide reminds us that whereas a controversy, not even yet dead, arose after the last war over documents whose authenticity was never in doubt, that of some of the documents in the Nuremberg Trials is already being queried—"apart altogether from the Phillips Oppenheim quality of the stories of their hiding and recovery . . . Trial by History is the ideal trial; but that is the task of the historian working slowly, methodically and dispassionately, as a historian can—but not a lawyer."

Justice rings hollow when Germany is charged with aggression by a plaintiff who has made a cold-blooded attack on Finland; who arraigned the Finnish leaders as war-criminals for seizing the first opportunity to avenge themselves; who partitioned Poland as accomplice in the crime with those

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MR. BEVIN'S INHERITANCE

The Political Rubble of Churchillism

BRITAIN is being taught the painful lesson that she is now very much the junior partner in the Big Three. Her chief concerns—Germany and the Middle East—were either ignored or decided against her at the Moscow Conference. She received no backing from USA. And her own policy of supporting the claim of France to a voice in the European settlement as a whole is crossed by the extravagant prestige-policy of de Gaulle. While Britain is trying to increase her weight as junior partner by seeking a close understanding with France, France is pretending to be a senior partner all on her own. It is a very awkward situation indeed that Mr. Bevin has inherited from Mr. Churchill.

Mr. Churchill will go down to history as the most disastrous leader this country has ever endured. There was not a trace of political insight in his war policy. Perhaps he might have made an admirable service chief, but as the shaper of British policy during the greatest crisis in the country's history he has deserved the total eclipse which has overtaken him. And I am inclined to think that the greatest of his series of great political blunders was the encouragement of de Gaulle.

Won or lost?

HOWEVER, it is time to ask seriously the question: What was the war fought for? The general answer has been that it was fought to defend Democracy against Fascism. Since Russia is palpably the chief victor in Europe—and Russia can by no stretch of imagination be called a democracy—we must choose: Either the war was fought for Democracy and lost, or the war was won but it was not fought for Democracy.

Let us choose the latter. It is the theory of the war that is now coming to be accepted. The war was fought against Fascism—and that war was won.

What is Fascism? Chiefly, no doubt, a term of abuse. But since it cropped up independently all over Europe and beating it took a colossal effort, and it is not yet dead, it is as well to understand it.

"There shall be order"

FASCISM is a system of authoritarian government which arose in countries where democratic government had palpably failed to govern—that is, to maintain the necessary minimum of social order without which the national economy of a country cannot function. In Italy, the country was paralyzed by a long series of strikes in the essential services—railways, ports, etc.; in Germany, there were 6—7 million unemployed to whom work could not be given nor adequate allowances paid. "This can't go on," sighed Everyman. "It need not go on," said the Leader. "Give me the authority and I'll put things straight. There shall be order." So Everyman gave him authority—and Order there was.

The strikes ceased in Italy: the unemployed were employed in Germany. The machine of the national economy was set going to produce armaments.

If it had been set going to produce consumption goods, we should not have liked it. For that would have been Communism. But we did like Fascism. We ourselves had gone all "national." Mr. Churchill himself sang the praises of Mussolini and Hitler.

That was very natural. Because Mr. Churchill, like most Englishmen, was a "nationalist," as Mussolini and Hitler were. Like most Englishmen, he hated Communism. Like most Englishmen, he changed his mind a little when he discovered that Communism was also nationalist and had been engaged in producing secret armaments and training a great Red Army.

Observer's Commentary

The best name for Fascism

THAT is to say that much the best name for Fascism is the one that Hitler gave it: "National Socialism." And the best name for Russian Communism is also "National Socialism."

Under National Socialism (German and Italian brands) employers and employed were alike coerced into obedience; and parliament either abolished or reduced to an applauding chorus for the decrees of the Leader. What was wrong with the system? You cannot blame it for being anti-democratic when it was introduced to cure the paralysis produced by democracy. Democracy is a system which is based on consent. It can work only when people agree to work it; its existence depends upon the will to make it work. If employers and employed alike are determined to sabotage the social discipline necessary to increased production: if the extreme Left and the extreme Right alike are going to advocate and practice minority violence—Democracy degenerates into anarchy.

Reasons for aggression

WHAT then was wrong with the system? Simply, that it was externally aggressive. And there were good reasons why the anti-democratic governments of Italy and Germany should be aggressive. Both Italy and Germany had been treated unjustly in the peace-settlement after the last war. The democratic governments in both countries had to bear the blame for the indignities to which they had appeared to consent. You would never get justice, the Fascists declared, unless you were strong, and prepared to throw your weight about. And the event proved it true. England and France surrendered to Mussolini's and Hitler's threats far more than they ever dreamed of granting to the pleas of Italian and German democracy.

A fanatic of genius

HITLER and Mussolini miscalculated. They carried their strong policy too far; they let it carry them into actual war. And they were beaten. Had it not been for Mussolini's folly in joining himself with Hitler, he might have been a flourishing Duce at this moment. With Hitler the case was different. He was a fanatic of genius: and the evil streak in his genius was his anti-Semitism. Like a good many other people, he believed that the root of the evil in the modern world was the Jews, and he was resolved to extirpate them. Where the Russian Communists extirpated the capitalists, Hitler extirpated the Jews.

That is the chief difference between the Russian and the German brands of "National Socialism." The Russian is more rational: it exterminates an economic class. The German exterminated a race, which because of its historical conditioning had been trained to perform a peculiar economic function—the manipulation of money. Nazism, compared to Communism, is thus regressive; but both are inhuman.

Vicious aberration

THE anti-Semitic idea was quite unnecessary to National Socialism.

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OPPORTUNITY FOR SACRIFICE

The appeal for extra food

THE purpose of the special appeal for £100,000 is to enable COBSRA to purchase additional quantities of certain food which can be bought in bulk for distribution on the Continent of Europe. No earmarking either for societies at home or countries abroad can be allowed, but the food purchased will be allocated to the various voluntary relief societies whose work is co-ordinated in COBSRA for them to distribute through their various teams. Thus additional food will by this means reach all the countries where relief teams are at work. Those who feel that the special needs of Germany and Austria make a special appeal to their sympathy can rest assured that these countries will get a fair share of the additional supplies.

We would like to suggest (writes Stuart Morris on behalf of Immediate Issues Committee) that readers of Peace News should not meet this new appeal by diverting subscriptions which they have been giving to any of the voluntary societies, for the voluntary societies still need their own resources. Since this money will be used to purchase additional supplies, let it be raised quickly by additional gifts. Here is an opportunity not only to take a real share in sending food to Germany or elsewhere in Europe, but to show the Government that our request to be allowed to make some personal sacrifice for that purpose was not mere words. The £100,000 can be raised by the end of the month if all who really care will make a special effort to take a fair share in redeeming what is a debt of honour. A prompt and adequate response is essential if the Government is to believe in our protestations and give any weight to our other demands.

TESTS ON RECOVERY FROM STARVATION

PROOF that prolonged hunger requires more than a return to a normal subsistence diet for recovery has been found in experiments made during the war on volunteers, but there is no indication that anyone in authority has given consideration to these findings when faced with the problem of European relief.

Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Post War World Council (says World-over Press), has released a report on his observations in Minneapolis, where, as he states:

"I saw the end of the long experiment in the effects of semi-starvation conducted under the direction of Ancell Keys, of the University of Minnesota Medical School. The human guinea pigs were 34 volunteers carefully picked for physical and psychological normality from among the conscientious objectors. "For six months they were fed at the semi-starvation level," asserts Mr. Thomas, "going down to about 1,500 calories per day, which millions of Europeans endure. They told me that one effect of this semi-starvation was to make it extraordinarily difficult for them, in good temper and good judgment, to carry on the simple business of their own small democracy of co-operative living. All intellectual work was made extremely difficult, but the really striking thing is the fact that the men made almost no improvement at all when their diet was raised to the level that is now offered by relief agencies in Europe—that is, to a level of 2,000 to 2,500 calories. It was only after a very considerable time on a 4,000-calory diet that real progress was made. The significance of this for the rehabilitation of Europe and for the hope of democracy in Europe is obvious and appalling."

IT'S A PLEASURE

IT is a pleasure to open a letter and find a £100 cheque inside. This has just happened to us. But the cheque was not for Headquarters Fund; we are asked to pass it on as an anonymous donation to COBSRA. Nothing could give us more satisfaction. We want to see that £100,000 raised quickly, the Government must be impressed by the earnestness of those of us who have stressed the need for relief.

Meanwhile the old firm is still in business, at the old address, Dick Sheppard House. We, too, are engaged, in our own way, in trying to save Europe and the world, now and always, from the consequences of war. If we cannot look for a sudden leap forward in our funds, we do confidently anticipate continued steady support. We even hope to increase the 1945 total in the New Year.

MAUD ROWNTREE.
CORDER CATCHPOOL.

Contributions to Headquarters Fund since Jan. 1: £42 19s. 4d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

SECURITY AND FREEDOM

THE Economist, having been rebuked for pessimism, looks on the bright side of things in an article which concludes that "the peace, for all its faults, will be, on balance, more enjoyable than war"; and Mr. George Orwell reaches much the same conclusion in much the same terms in The Tribune. Mr. Orwell's crystal-gazing does not extend beyond the present year; but, on the whole, the chances are that there will, in fact, be no major war for a long while to come. We are ourselves almost ready to risk prophesying that there will never be another.

But it will be a long time before that hunch of ours hardens into a reasonable certainty, which all men will share and on which they will act; and the period will be one of the strangest in human history. In it will take place a revolutionary change in human behaviour, which will, for all its revolutionary character, be almost imperceptible. For the moral nature of man is going to remain very much the same during this interregnum. Only when it begins to be generally accepted that there is not in fact going to be another world-war, will the revolutionary change begin to be a happening within the field of the experience of the individual person. Then the preoccupation of the national society with its own security will begin to diminish; and the vast expenditure of social energy which is directed towards achieving national security begin to be turned into other channels. There will be, among other more material manifestations of this re-direction of energy, a great increase in the amount of thought devoted to the ends of human life and the purposes for which society exists. The enormous power of repression which emanates from the preoccupation with national security, and which has found expression in the monstrosity of totalitarianism, will begin to weaken. A system of society which makes sense only in a world where war is the final arbiter, will be visible nonsense in a world in which, in fact, the great nations do not go to war.

It is at that point that the reality of the moral revolution will come home to men as individuals. For there is no obviously compulsive reason why the factual absence of war should be used to establish the free society. Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor may prove to have been right in his conviction that man is terrified of freedom and the responsibility of freedom. If that is really true, the virtual abolition of war will be the prelude to the establishment of a universal slave-society in which the rulers will be on good terms with one another, and the ruled will be sleek and contented in their sties.

Man may be terrified of freedom. Certainly he has had too little of it to enable us to forestall his reaction to a larger dose. What evidence there is tells, on the whole, against man's capacity for freedom. It is hard to convince him of that, simply because it is hard for him to understand that what he is accustomed to look upon as freedom is the product of innumerable compulsions of which he is unaware. Real freedom would be a much less cosy condition.

What men really mean when they talk of freedom is security. And it may well be that the chief effect of the probable obsolescence of war will be to reveal the great cleavage between those whose real desire is to be secure, and those who cannot be content till they are free. It is the confusion between these two conditions which the possibility of war perpetuates. When war becomes impossible the profound antithesis between them will emerge. And the fun will begin.

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In Defence of Labour Pacifism

the first of three articles

by
MAURICE CRANSTON

who regrets the anti-war movement's retreat from politics

POLITICS among pacifists is ceasing to be fashionable. After the Great War, the thought of the majority turned away from public to personal preoccupations; this time it is the anti-war minority that seems to be retreating. True, there is a difference; the modern pacifist seeks salvation, and not pleasure, but the means to the end is the same withdrawal.

"You cannot do any good by politics," is a proposition that is gaining currency. Heard and Huxley started it, and Wilfred Wellock, Reginald Reynolds, and Harold Bing have since assented to it. I want to argue that this proposition is only half true. Certain individuals will say, "I cannot do any good by politics," but what is appropriate subjectively is not necessarily of universal application. Because Aldous Huxley has found a more excellent way in withdrawal, it does not follow that every other pacifist is called to this particular witness. I believe that theocratic saints, Yogi visionaries, and Christian mystics are doing very valuable service, but I take umbrage when they say that people working to mend the world at lower levels are wasting their time.

Inimical to pacifism

The anti-political case has a perverse logical plausibility. Certainly politics in this imperfect world is not as clean a business as it might be. All the parties, including the class-war minded ILP and the tyrannical Anarchist Federation, are committed to policies inimical to pacifism. Therefore, it is argued, a pacifist cannot logically identify himself with people whose methods he rejects on principle. And particularly in the case of the Labour Party (to which I belong) it

is asked: how can a pacifist find a place in a movement whose government is responsible for conscription, for capital punishments, for Imperialism and for war?

I want to suggest an answer to this argument.

The proposition "You cannot do any good by politics," is true, I believe, only in the sense that the revolutionary changes that are necessary for the creation of a good society cannot be effected by political methods. That long-term revolution can only be accomplished by what John Middleton Murry calls "education into community" or by the "change of heart" about which Reginald Reynolds has recently written so eloquently.

Yet the proposition is also false. For a very great measure of interim good can be done by politics. Principally, by politics, we can provide for the best sort of background against which our long-term revolution can be promoted, the social context most favourable to the re-education of the individual. Politics cannot teach us the good life, but it can provide the facilities without which the good life could never be discovered. I like to think of the pacifist movement as the embryo of the desirable society of the future, but we must not forget that it resides within the womb of a democratic society. A democratic society that is largely evil, yes; but in what

other sort of society could we function at all?

Did the *Bruderhof* prosper in Nazi Germany, or the religious communities in Soviet Russia after Stalin's 1929 decrees? Neither would any enterprise in long-term revolutionary education prosper in Britain if this country were to become totalitarian. For this reason alone, the defence of democracy is the business of the pacifist. And freedom is in danger. The Left Wing, particularly, is being infected by an anti-liberal virus (mainly, but not only, by Communists), and the economic situation of this country becomes progressively less favourable to liberty.

We are just beginning to realise how fortunate Robert Owen and William Morris were in the Victorian era. They suffered from no State interference. They were thwarted, yes; but simply because "men were not morally ready for socialism." Hating capitalism, Owen and Morris were yet indebted to capitalism for the liberty they enjoyed. So with the British pacifist today; antipathetic to the British democratic state, he is nevertheless indebted to that institution for his freedom to function. In central Europe avowed pacifists are put out of action by the police.

If every visionary and every man of goodwill walked out of British politics because it is an imperfect thing, then fools and rogues would soon be in charge of our system, and Britain's condition would sink to that of a slave state. One day the Yogi pacifist would look up from his navel to see that the Secret Policeman or the lynching mob had come to accelerate his departure to another realm of Being!

Roads to the same goal

About the need for a new society, and about the nature of that new society, I suppose most pacifists are agreed. However, we may differ over immediate issues, we share the same vision. The vision, that is, of a society without war and without restraint. But the way to this goal is not, I believe, one single road, but many.

Consider first the problem. We realise that we must change the substance of society because until men are better personally they will not be fit to live together in peace. But we must also change the structure of society, because until men are free from present injustices and oppression they will never be able to fit themselves for a better order. This is, perhaps, a paradox. Or a circular argument. But it is a circle that can be broken at two points. It is broken by affirming that there must be improvement of both the substance and the structure of society.

The important thing is to remember just what can and what cannot be done by either method. By politics you can only provide a decent contest within which good may be done. It is religious and educational teaching which will do that real and essential good, but only so long as the political system permits it. To think that all that is good can be done by either method alone is heresy, leading to that disastrous dichotomy discussed by Mr. Arthur Koestler in "The Yogi and the Commissar." The Commissar is the man who thinks it is only the structure of society that matters, that all the good that needs to be done can be accomplished by politics. The Yogi is the man who thinks it is only the substance of society that matters, and that all the good can be accomplished away from politics. Both, I suggest, are wrong.

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LETTERS

Responsibility in Society

If one has to choose between the hot-headed pacifism of Derek Savage and the intellectual pacifism of your leading article in Peace News, December 28, the former is to be preferred. You state that as society is more closely integrated, the margin of freedom for responsible action diminishes. Why is the word responsible slipped in? If omitted the statement might be considered vaguely true. As it stands, it is false. The integration of society demands an ever increasing responsibility of the individual.

You state "that individuals—pacifists pre-eminently—consider (the conduct of the nation-state) vicious and lunatic." That is false. The conduct of nation-states is sometimes, and increasingly can be, virtuous and responsible. The Hot Springs Conference proves this.

You state that individual consciences are contributory to changes in state activities but seldom, if ever, decisive. We have a long history as a community integrating itself, and many of the changes which have come about in the process of integration have been due to individual consciences—I should imagine, the majority of them.

You state that "even their (the pacifists') refusal to take part in war has to be permitted by the nation-state. If it were not, pacifists would simply be blotted out." Yet we have heard of pacifists who have survived concentration camps in Germany. And it is just because of the individual conscience of pacifists in the war of 1914-18, that the nation-state of Great Britain today permits conscientious objection. Further, the pacifism of one, whom some reverse as God, though his body was "blotted out" nineteen hundred years ago, is alive today and stirs the individual consciences of men throughout the civilized world.

V. HENRY MOTTRAM.

Hope Cottage,
Donhead St. Marv. Wiltshire.

Those who want peace

I write to clasp the hand of your correspondent, Elizabeth Fitzroy, and, with the free hand, to pat the back of D. S. Savage. Some six weeks ago (I wrote to you about it) there was a meeting of about a dozen people. Catholics, Protestants, pacifists, non-pacifists, in this area, and we all agreed that there was never a time when genuine love of peace (apart from pacifism) and a readiness to respond to an appeal for a UNITED FRONT to make future wars impossible, were so clearly manifest in people everywhere, holding every shade of religious and political opinion. We determined to try to give that lead in a manner similar to what Dick Sheppard did, but extending it, not only to pacifists, but to those WHO WANT PEACE. We asked all such to send a postcard. We sent out fifty letters to progressive, religious, peace-loving journals, including Peace News. Not only did NONE of these journals publish the letter, NONE even acknowledged it! That is why we try again with this letter. What is the explanation of the silence?

W. ROWLAND JONES.

St. Hilda's Vicarage,
Denton, Manchester.

(We publish this simply to convince Dr. Jones that there is no conspiracy of silence: merely a grave doubt whether any good purpose is served by such procedures. The great

majority of Britons and Germans "wanted peace" in Sept., 1939. But they were not prepared to do the things which pertain to peace.—Ed., PN.)

By-passing Mr. Attlee

One might be justified in asking the Peace Pledge Union to bestir themselves from a period of six years of enforced lethargy. On Nov. 22 the present Prime Minister made a speech in the House of Commons absolutely unprecedented for its completeness as a "renunciation of war." It was the nearest thing we have heard to the living days of Dick Sheppard. It was reported in full in The Times and The Daily Telegraph. When approached on the matter, however, the PPU executive were entirely unaware of the speech and not a single reference has yet been made to it in Peace News. It could have been used as the basis for a great national campaign bringing members and money to the PPU and giving point and justification to the efforts of those who are promoting the "Save Europe Now" campaign. It would be interesting and possibly stimulating to have some explanation of this by-passing of Mr. Attlee on the part of both the secretary of the PPU and the editor of Peace News. Mere moanings are apt to create boredom even in the minds of pacifists.

D. F. POTTER.

118, Springfield Road,
Brighton, 6.

(The following are the salient passages from Mr. Attlee's speech:

"I think it is as well that we should make up our minds that if the world again lapses into war on a scale comparable to that from which we have just emerged, every weapon will be used, and we may confidently expect that full-scale atomic warfare will result in the destruction of great cities, in the deaths of millions, and the setting back of civilization to an unimaginable extent."

"Just as no system of inspection or control of weapons will work without goodwill, so no international organization, however carefully framed, will be of any avail unless the nations resolve to lay aside war and the threat of war as instruments of compulsion; unless they determine to establish between themselves such mutual confidence that war is unthinkable."

This, however true, is not in the least a complete "renunciation of war," and cannot be mistaken for it.—Ed., PN.)

Dope of the working-class

Your correspondent, Ernest Sturgess (PN, Dec. 21), is surely confusing unessential (and undesirable) accompaniments of certain forms of religion with the essentials of Christianity.

It is undeniable that Christians individually and as the Church bear heavy responsibility for many sins in the world; it is equally certain that much that is noble and good in our society has sprung from Christian roots, often from the organized Church. From such broad generalizations it is impossible to form a sound judgment. Certainly religion is sometimes "the dope of the working classes"; equally, sweeping generalizations such as Mr. Sturgess makes can dope the working (and other) classes. On what authority, for example, does he base his assertion that in Europe the standard of living of the working man varies inversely to the number of regular church-goers?

There is not room in your columns for Christian apologies. It is enough to point out that if we would face reality, neither the "pie in the sky" of some professed Christians nor the "no pie in the sky" of some non-Christians is adequate to our needs.

MICHAEL B. SIGAL.

26 Castle Avenue,
Ewell.

NEW P.P.U. BULLETIN

I HOPE that Peace News will carry the news of a number of fresh PPU activities during 1946. There is one which can be announced now. We hope shortly to publish the first issue of a PPU bulletin which will then appear each month. Of the need for such a bulletin I have become increasingly aware during the past two years. Only the paper shortage has delayed the project. We can commence now.

What will be the relation of the bulletin to Peace News? Peace News will cater to a greater extent for the non-pacifist public. The bulletin will be restricted to matters of PPU

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

"domestic" interest. Some items hitherto in Peace News may therefore in future appear in the bulletin. We are proceeding with the full approval of and in co-operation with the editor of Peace News.

What will be the purpose of the bulletin? I see it like this. First, to provide a medium for the exchange of ideas and views within the movement. Reports from the areas will be included. Second, to convey a monthly message from Headquarters to every member. We have received many requests for a sufficient number of copies of the Group Letter to be sent to groups so that they may be circulated to individual members. The bulletin will supersede the Group Letter. Third, to allow for the ventilation of contrasting points of view on subjects of peculiar interest to members. Peace News' space for correspondence is limited, nor are all discussions best carried on in public. The bulletin will allow for the expression of differences. Fourth, in these and other ways to promote the awareness on the part of us all that we belong to an important national peace movement in which we have a vital part to play. Part of the test of the success of the bulletin will be the extent to which it promotes harmony in the Union and more effective pacifist work.

To begin with, at any rate, I have been asked to act as Editor. This is a job I have to learn. But I am fortunate to have Roger Page, London Area organizer, to assist me; and fortunate, too, to know that I shall have the patient support of many members.

We hope to achieve a circulation of not less than 3,000, which will be easy to attain if each of our 300 groups takes ten copies each; the price will not be more than 4d. Don't write to order your copy yet (or send in your articles!); but encourage your fellow members to give this new venture their support, and watch Peace News columns for a further announcement later.

PATRICK FIGGIS.

ADVISORY BUREAU CHANGES

ST. ALBANS.—Now: Stanley R. Perkins. 323 Hatfield Road, St. Albans. (St. Albans 4306.)

WINCHESTER.—G. C. M. Makin now Rookley House, Nr. Kings Somborne, Hants. (Kings Somborne 319.)

Delete HEBDEN BRIDGE.

YORK.—Individual Adviser now Arthur Rosewarne, 11 Kingsland Terrace, York.

Delete KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

North Midland Regional Secretary no longer Dorothy Bishop.

ST. HELENS.—Ted Kenyon now Individual Adviser.

STROUD AND MID-GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—Wilfred W. Gardner now Individual Adviser.

Christmas in Germany

CHRISTMAS in Germany is indeed a sad time this year. Food is, according to the district, either sparse or desperately short. For millions in the east and in the bombed cities throughout the land, the customary greetings are a cruel taunt. It is not easy to be merry on bread and a little sausage eaten in a cellar.

Though, it must be said, life is not everywhere so hard as might be imagined. In the hilly rural area where I find myself there is sufficient food to permit of real, if limited, merrymaking, even though the atmosphere is deadened by the sadness of broken family circles. These little fairy-tale towns and villages which nestle so attractively in the pine forests, escaped the war almost completely. And to drive through them at this time of the year is a joy, with decorated Christmas trees twinkling in the streets and Advent garlands to be seen at every cottage window. The housewives are carrying from the baker's their trays of sugar-cakes. Here, so near to the border, where refugees from the east, reaching the transit camp, lie down sometimes to die from sheer exhaustion and hunger, or from broken heart, there is at least a facade of normality and contentment. The terrible sights beyond the mountains are soon out of one's mind.

Six hard winters

It is equally easy to make an inverted picture of the German scene: to be obsessed, as many people in England probably are, by concern for the suffering of the Germans, to the ex-

clusion of other Europeans. Apart from the very real foundations for such a concern, it is a natural form of expression for the pacifist mind to take in the circumstances. The Germans, after all, were our enemies. But the Pole, or any of the other millions of forced workers and prisoners of war who have spent long years of hardship in Germany are not easily moved by the prospect of Germany's privations. "Hard winter, indeed. We've had six hard winters. And six hard Christmases, when the Germans were living well."

Such reflections do not, of course, affect the validity of the feelings of pacifists, whose charity is extended to the Poles certainly no less than to the Germans. ("Save Europe Now" is expressive enough.) And, in any case, the Poles still in Germany are far better fed than the Germans. But it is well to remember that Warsaw, for instance, is even worse destroyed than Berlin.

One or two?

The British garrison in the village certainly had no need for political or ethical or any other considerations. With Christmas approaching, they planned a Christmas party for the children. In the Polish Camp there are over 100 children, and in the village about 300 young Germans. Someone suggested two separate parties, which didn't catch on at all. Children don't need defining. And so, with the help of school-teachers from camp and village, the party was arranged.

Today was the great day. The village hall had been gaily decorated, with scores of Christmas trees lining the walls. Down the village street came the soldiers, each with a dozen tiny hands clasping his, their owners shouting and laughing with excitement. In the hall they sat to a great feed of cakes and other good things made from the troops' rations, while the helpers, Polish, German and British, waited on them.

This, it occurred to me, was the sort of thing that makes nonsense of racial arguments and Ministers of Food. I stood watching with a Polish teacher who had been largely concerned with the day's organization. He was a Jew, who had come through years of living in German concentration camps. As we talked, the children were joining in (as they do at an English pantomime) with a German fairy story which some of the older girls were acting. A short time ago, he said, the thought of such a thing would have been impossible for him. He had resolved to hate and . . . Even now he was sure that what he was doing was illogical. He must be weak.

Sweets were handed out, and every child received a toy—a hobby horse, or a toy train or a doll. And after more entertainment and singing the frosty evening air crackled with the laughter of hundreds of shrill voices as bands of children made for home, past the derelict tank which the war had left by the roadside, to the friendly little village where Christmas had been celebrated centuries before the clever men of the world had made their wonderful little atom bombs.

These soldiers, for the most part, are mistrustful of politicians. Sentimentality and "fine words" embarrass them. But their simplicity and the illogicality of the little Polish Jew made sense for me, of Christmas. From a member of an UNRRA team.

Words of Peace

No. 157

The pacifist may lay down his life in order to refuse to kill his fellow men. He will have done little to end war. The League of Nations enthusiast may bind himself in the name of collective security to take sanctions and go to war against an aggressor anywhere. He will have done little to end war. He may wage wiser and better wars than the national states have done, but he will wage war none the less and run the risk of turning every local conflict into a world war. The isolationist may hope to escape war. He will fail because every war now tends to become a world war and so imperil the security of his own state and compel him to take sides. There is no way of ending war and establishing peace and liberty on earth save by creating a true Federation (not League) of Nations. That is the central truth I want pacifists and realists alike to realize. Only then shall we begin to move, however slowly, towards our real goal.

—Lord Lothian, "Pacifism is not enough," 1935.

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WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LITERATURE, &c.
THOSE WHO DARE think, value Ronald Mallone's poetry: "Passionate affirmation of our fundamental values" (New Leader), "Vigorous and expressive" (Herbert Read), "Sensitiveness to anguish of world" (The Friend), Peoples' Post praises latest volume "Whose Victory?" (2s. 6d., post 2d.) for "nobility of thought, courage, exquisite contrast." 30 Darby Rd., Oldbury.

QUAKERISM Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

MEETINGS &c.
THE BOURNEMOUTH Region of the P.P.U. are arranging a New Year Social for Jan. 12 to be held at Friends Mtg. Hse., Avenue Rd., at 6 p.m. Members and their friends are cordially invited to come and meet John Barclay. There will be an American tea.

MERSEYSIDE REGION.—Jan. 16. Common Hall, Liverpool, 6.30 p.m., A.G.M. 7.30 p.m., Speaker: Dennis Davis. Subject: "The Future of Peace-making."

BROMLEY REGION P.P.U. A.G.M. William Morris Hall, Bromley, Sat., Jan. 19—5 p.m. with Social until 7.45 followed by Stuart Morris: "Food, Europe and the Peace." Public mtg. 8 p.m. All members please support.

"RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP."—Club Leaders' Conference (open to all interested). Jan. 27, 1946. 10.30 a.m.—5 p.m. at Alliance Hall, Westminster. Chairman: Alex Wood. Spkrs.: Jack Singleton (Lecturer, Youth Clubs, Forces, etc.); Ian Luckie (ex-Warden, Liverpool University Settlement). Tickets 1s. at door. Parties from Patrick Figgis, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

GOT A 1946 Diary? Book Mar. 9-10. Phoenix National Conference. Details soon.

PERSONAL

DON'T TRY to support us by writing to say you are in agreement. We are hopelessly behind with our correspondence. Read why and how you should work in your own locality in "But What Hinders You" (4d.) from Phoenix, 141 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

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WAR RESISTERS' International urgently needs help in translating from the Czech language. Please communicate: W.R.I., 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middx.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends.

FRIENDSHIPS CONFIDENTIALLY FORMED. For parties, send s.a.c. to Friendship Bureau, 55 Lynwood Drive, Romford, Essex.

ANNE—Thank you for Book Token. I bought "Enchanted Fountain" (Baroness Reitzenstein, 3s. 6d.) with it at Housman's. It's a lovely book. John.

SITUATIONS VACANT
We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

MACHINISTS WANTED (girls, young women) for manufacturing surgical works; export. 40-hr. wk.; minimum wage £3 per wk. experienced workers. Also leather-sewers used to hand needle work; flat knit, ters (power). Apply: Black Bull Works, Caledonian Market, London.

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In the villages...

WHILE the Jews of Givath Haim—the Sharon village where six Jews were killed last week during a search by troops—were observing the seventh day of mourning yesterday, 40 Arab notables, led by an 80-year-old Sheikh rode in to express the sympathy of six Arab villages.

Bringing gifts of food, they stressed the friendship which existed between the Jewish and Arab villages and expressed confidence that it would continue.

—Daily Herald.

Carols and hampers for P.O.W.s

A hamper of "Christmas Cheer" was passed in, by way of the back door, to a German prisoners-of-war camp near London, on behalf of members and friends of a North London FoR group. A colourful Christmas card was enclosed with the letter of thanks, with the words: "MERRY CHRISTMAS" beautifully printed in English. Here is the letter:

Christmas, 1945.

Honoured Donors! We acknowledge the exceedingly generous "comforts" which were handed to us by Mr. Britchford. Please receive our hearty thanks for these, and for the letter. You can scarcely imagine our surprise and joy!

Although we are spending our second Christmas behind barbed wire, we are not despondent. A day will come when the gate to Eternal Freedom will be opened even for us.

You are right! The situation in Europe, and also in our own Homeland is desolate. Your news that British officers and soldiers are giving Christmas presents to German children is all the more pleasing to us. This may indeed be regarded as a good sign of peaceful work together and of understanding. German comrades in the English prisoner-of-war camps have also contrived in their spare time to make toys for poor English children, which now on Christmas Eve are being handed out through the camp's commandant for distribution.

Rest assured that we, too, with our English helpers and all who are well disposed to us, are striving to attain a good understanding. Once again thanking you for all the lovely things, permit us to wish you and all the donors a Happy Christmas and a Prosperous New Year!

SONG FOR SONG

Twelve members of the Northampton PPU group met together to sing outside the Austrian prisoners-of-war camp at Broughton. Standing with torchlights as near to the huts as the barbed wire allowed, they sent their message of goodwill to their captive brothers in song and with the aid of a fiddler. Within a matter of minutes figures of prisoners appeared and the number grew to some hundreds, forming a tightly packed audience on the other side of the wire entanglement.

One of them, an officer, shouted across to ask if anyone could speak German. Fortunately someone could, and the Austrian, in a voice deeply moved with emotion, said how very grateful they all were for such a token of friendship in a foreign land; and that they, and thousands in their homeland, returned our goodwill. While he spoke, and a PPU member replied, many prisoners brought out candles and song-sheets, and then their own choir sang Austrian carols and folk songs.

After an hour of song for song, greetings and farewells were exchanged, and the PPU leaders shook hands through the wire with the prison officers.

No British guards appeared to insist on discipline, or to mar a lovely experience. Harrow group again went to Hatch End on New Year's Eve to sing traditional songs and have been "pressed to go again. The response amongst the prisoners has been amazing and shows a deeply felt desire for friendship among them.

What will follow the defeat of fascism?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

Mussolini got on perfectly well with out it. It can only be described as a vicious aberration of Hitler's brilliant but profoundly uneducated mind. If Hitler had been content merely to exterminate the Communists simply because they were enemies of the German national, as the Communists themselves exterminated the Trotskyists simply because they were enemies of the Russian national state, he would have been on firm ground. His government would, it is true, have been a tyranny by Western standards, but not by Russian.

Which do we mean?

WHEN therefore we say that the war was fought against Fascism and has been won, we may be saying all, or any two, or any one of three things (1) that a particular system of government which supersedes unworkable democracy has been destroyed or (2) that two nationalist and militarist governments have been militarily defeated or (3) that anti-Semitism has been eradicated. Of the three (2) is the only one that is certainly true. (3) is only partially true. There is plenty of anti-Semitism still operative in Central Europe. (1) is very doubtfully true, and, even if true, it is "a good thing" (in the sense of "1066 and All That") only if the place of Fascism is taken by workable democracy. That is far from certain either in Italy or Germany. Certainly in Germany little is being done to ensure that it shall work. Yet without that nothing has been gained by the war from the British point of view. To imagine that military victory is an end in itself is childish. If victory does not serve policy, it is futile. It is Mr. Churchill's epitaph that in pursuit of victory he sacrificed every possibility of a policy that could justify a victory purchased at such cost. Mr. Bevin has to build with the rubble Mr. Churchill has left behind him.

I.V.S.P. IN FRANCE

A NEW chapter has opened in the history of IVSP.

On Saturday December 29, five British volunteers left London to work with members of the French and Swiss branches of the Service Civil International (of which IVSP is the British branch) in services in France. This is the first time since the beginning of the war that IVSP has been able to take part in any truly international scheme outside the agency of UNRRA.

Interest is added to this service by the fact that three German prisoners-of-war have been "detached" by the military authorities, to work on terms of equality with other volunteers.

Of the British volunteers, two men will work on house-repairs at Ecurcy, near the Swiss frontier, a man and a woman will do welfare and practical work at Raon l'Etape, in the Vosges, and one man will spend shorter periods at each service and then perhaps go on to work in a service in Saarbrücken. At the same time the work of the IVSP relief teams is expanding. At the present moment there are two teams in Greece, one just finishing its work in Italy, two in Germany, and a further team is being mobilised for work in Germany.

C.B.C.O. PARTY

At a New Year Party after the Central Board meeting, held in the Institute at Friends House, London, on January 5, Edward Johnson from East Anglia expressed the thanks of the Movement to Nancy Browne and Joe Brayshaw who had been full-time officers of the Board for the last six and five years respectively. Cheques were presented and George Elphick, central figure of the famous Lewes fire-watching case, also paid tribute. Graham Wiggs, the new secretary, was welcomed.

There were musical items by Stephen Waters (clarinet) and Leo Timmermans and Bernard Wellsbury (pianoforte), while Bertram Shuttleworth gave an original monologue which was much enjoyed by a company of about eighty.

At the close, Fenner Brockway said that Twelfth Night was the traditional end of the Christmas festivities. Monday would find the Board back at its job.

Double Edged Sword

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

who are in the dock at Nuremberg; and who enforced mass-expulsions on the Nazi model. Justice becomes a mockery when Krupps stand their trial for rearming Germany, whilst Vickers and other armament firms who helped them to do it, remain free, honoured and active; when Germany is charged with trying to bring Spain into the war, whilst her accusers brought in many other countries; or when Goering is singled out for the mass-bombing of cities by the inventors of the atomic bomb, the moral justification for the charge against him apparently on the level of the naughty school-boy's, "Please, sir, he did it first"—a poor foundation for our new majestic reign of law.

Wholesale reversion to capital punishment, even by nations which had long ago abolished the practice as incompatible with the higher levels of Christian Civilization, and without a word of protest by our own National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, is in itself significant, not indeed of the hoped-for advance, but of moral degradation.

Though reporters from Nuremberg tell us to "Make no mistake, we are in the presence of a decisive step forward in civilized history" (Daily Worker, Dec. 1, 1945), some of them clamour impatiently for executions! Roy Sherwood shares their belief in the moral significance of these war-trials, but wisely warns us that if they become merely a 20th-century extension of Vae Victis, they will but provide one more consequence of total war. We must all share his hope, while like him, wishing we could feel optimistic.

"The Last Shot" A JOB FOR PPU GROUPS

This M.O.I. film, showing the liberation of Holland, with vivid pictures of some of the victims of malnutrition, is being shown at the under-mentioned cinemas in January and probably elsewhere throughout the country. A special leaflet in connection with it is being published by PPU Immediate Issues Committee with the object of persuading those who have been impressed by the films to demonstrate their sympathy with Europe and particularly Germany. This double-sided leaflet, with quotations from "WHO STARVES?", published in 1940, and from General Montgomery's speech, is available from Housman's at 4/- per 100. Please picket your local cinema and hand one of these to everyone who has seen the film. This is an opportunity to bring the knowledge of the sufferings of Europe to a new public. Please enquire when your local cinema is showing this film.

JAN. 14.—St. Albans, Odeon.
Hayes, Middx., Odeon.
Welwyn, Odeon.
Elmers End, Kent, Odeon.
Oxford, Scala.
New Cinema, Headington.
Middlesbrough, Gaumont Palace.
Glen Grand Electric.
Marlborough.
Palladium.
Pavilion.
Odeon.
Chesterfield (cinema not known).
Reading, Odeon.
Pavilion.
Vaudeville.

It will also be at Liverpool and Manchester on January 28th, but the names of the cinemas are not known.

Baby Famine

An unusually good little book inquiring into "the causes, economic, social and emotional" of the deficiency of birth in Britain is Mr. Geoffrey Pardoe's "The Baby Famine" (Torch-stream Books, 2s. 6d. net). It has courage, commonsense and a very real understanding of the profound social changes which have occurred in this country during its transition to a mass-society. Mr. Pardoe, who writes as a realistic socialist and a good deal of a pacifist, deals with the situation as it really is. The main emphasis of his practical recommendations is upon the necessity of a prompt, ample and imaginative provision of houses; and the establishment of economic security for all. But his book, which is very cheap considering how much it contains, is much more than a series of practical recommendations. It is a comprehensive and convincing treatment of a fundamental problem from a point of view that is really humane. Mr. Pardoe knows what he is talking about. Our only criticism is that he sometimes expresses himself rather awkwardly; but the excellence of the substance triumphs over the occasional defects of the form.

PPU LETTER TO GANDHI

A LETTER has recently been sent to Mr. Gandhi, on behalf of all members of the Peace Pledge Union. It is being taken to India by Mr. Reginald Sorenson, MP, a member of the parliamentary delegation, and also a member of the Union. The letter says:

As you know it is not always easy for your friends in Britain to be as fully informed as they would wish on Indian affairs, particularly since the suspension of *Harijan*. Is any resumption of *Harijan* contemplated? It would be of great value to us as well as to innumerable Indians. Mr. Sorenson will no doubt bring back to us a detailed account of your present opinions and activities. We realise that a major political crisis will develop in India in the spring, and are anxious to clear our minds as to the precise political steps we should urge on our own Government. Detailed programme-building is, we know, foreign to your creative way of meeting unique situations; but we hope to have some valuable suggestions for our consideration. What we should like most of all would be for the radio to be put to its proper use, as in our own recent General Election, so that you could broadcast from India to all British people an unensored statement of your position and that of Congress. We remember that such a suggestion has been made more than once before by Miss Agatha Harrison and other friends. Is there any hope that this may be brought about? May we assume that you would approve and accept any such proposal from the BBC?

We have watched with anxiety the mounting passions and disturbances of recent weeks, and seemed to perceive beneath the scanty news that your influence was used with your immediate colleagues to maintain a peaceful atmosphere. Your new triumph in securing the unequivocal reaffirmation by the Working Committee of the Congress creed of non-violence is, we believe, a great service not only to India freedom but also to the cause of world peace.

We know that you will value our words of friendship more highly if they are the earnest of our intention to work for non-violence and Indian freedom in a practical way. We do therefore ask again for such advice as you may be able to offer us, and also for a written message which may be published for the benefit of our members everywhere. Please understand "message" to mean a full-length article if that is not asking too much.

With every good wish, and with deep gratitude for all you have done and are doing to serve the cause of peace.

"Sword of Gold" Roy Walker's Book on Gandhi

FOR its absorbing interest, I have read every word of Roy Walker's book, "Sword of Gold" (Indian Independence Union, 7s. 6d.). It is vividly written, evidently by one who is an enthusiast for the ideals upheld by its subject: the Mahatma Gandhi. In 200 pages it gives a summarized biography, and describes many tragic, pathetic and glorious incidents of the Mahatma's long career.

Gandhi's life-work—as English people generally forget or are unaware—began not so much in India as in South Africa. The governing officials were enforcing a "colour bar" against not only the indigenous negroes, but also against immigrants from India: many of whom were "indentured" labourers. Gandhi organized protests against these disabilities. Some of those protests took the form of peaceable marches into prohibited territory. Of those marches this book describes various stirring episodes. It was in South Africa that Gandhi first formed his life-long ideal of "truth, love and peace" (satyagraha). He had been hauled roughly off a train by an official, and had taken refuge in the waiting-room. "It was a cold winter night and Gandhi huddled in the waiting-room without his overcoat, and with no light was left to his thoughts When morning dawned his decision was made, the way ahead was clear." At that time he was about 30 years old.

His greatest work, however, of course has been in India. The book gives a concise but sufficient and very thrilling account of it. There are described the Rowlett Bills Agitation of 1919; the Joint Hindu-Muslim adoption of non-co-operation in 1920; Gandhi's fasts; the Simon Commission of 1928; Civil Disobedience; and the numerous other events of the struggle to obtain freedom by peace. At the end of the book what impression is left on the reader's mind? India is still unfree; union of Hindu and Moslem is farther off than ever; while in the world at large brute force seems sovereign. "But Gandhi, the little man of 65, was at peace as he went among his people. He knew that the third wave would come, and after that the fourth, and sooner or later, in his lifetime or after, the rock (of tyranny) would be submerged." We may say, in any case, and whether or not Gandhi's political aim is attained, it will remain true that "when all the buildings of the Rajahs have crumbled into ruins . . . the name of Mahatma Gandhi will still be taught by mothers to their little children as one of the greatest of India's saints and saviours."

J. W. POYNTER.

Origins of Pacifism

I have so far received 60 replies to my questionnaire on the "origins of pacifism." This is just enough to make it worth while to go on, but not enough to obtain reliable or significant results. May I therefore again appeal in your columns for help? Any who are willing to fill up a questionnaire, giving details about their pacifist opinions, may have as many copies as they can use by applying to me at the address below.

Billingshurst,
Sussex.

FRANK E. MORETON.

A League for World Disarmament NPC OFFICER WELCOMES PROPOSAL

John Lamming, of the National Peace Council has written in appreciation of Denis Riley's article "Why not a League for world disarmament" (P.N. Jan. 4).

Undoubtedly (he says) the most urgent need of the moment is for a World Peace Crusade to force the pace of disarmament and the achievement of World Government but such a campaign can only be launched if all sections of the Peace Movement refuse to allow the best to be the enemy of the good and resolutely ask their perfectionists to stand aside if they feel unable to assist. The situation is so desperate and the time so short that limited policies, which can receive the support of all those who believe in the possibility of permanent peace, must be tried in spite of the dangers involved.

NPC's reason for existence is its belief in the necessity of co-operation between pacifists and non-pacifists and it has done a great deal to make that co-operation a reality. The recently issued statement of policy "Britain and the Peace" endeavours to combine the two points of view and provide the basis of a campaign for the forty organizations affiliated to the council but our efforts have not rested there.

Conference Probable

Discussions have been entered into with representatives of UNA, New Commonwealth, Federal Union, the Association of Scientific Workers and other organizations not affiliated to the council and it now seems likely that these preliminary and limited discussions will result in the calling of a delegate conference at the highest level at the beginning of next month to examine the basis of a joint policy.

It would be invidious for me to indicate here what I think such a policy should be, but it is obvious that it will have to combine the ultimate and the immediate and that a considerable measure of compromise will be necessary.

The revolution that has been forced upon us by the discovery of nuclear fission is one of the greatest in the history of man and means that we must either achieve world government within a measurable time and make possible a civilized life for all peoples or the prospect before us is the end of civilization everywhere. Let us emphasise our agreements, and forget our disagreements before it is too late to do either.

YOUTH CONFERENCE

THERE is general recognition of the absence among many young people today—as among many older people, too—of any set convictions as to what behaviour is right or wrong; also a lack of a sense of responsibility towards life and towards other people. The consequences are far-reaching.

It is important for many reasons that a sense both of direction and of responsibility should be recovered. With this question in mind, the Youth Committee of PPU have therefore arranged a conference to be held in the Alliance Hall, Palmer Street, Westminster, from 10.30 a.m. till 5 p.m. on Sunday Jan. 27, open to everyone interested in young people but especially intended for those engaged in youth club work. At the morning session the reasons for the present situation will be examined. In the afternoon, commencing at 2 p.m., the steps to be taken towards recovery will be considered.

Dr. Alex Wood (Emmanuel College, Cambridge) will be in the chair. The opening speakers will be Jack Singleton, who has had experience as a Minister of Religion and as lecturer to Youth Clubs and to the Forces, and Ian McLuckie who till recently was Warden of Liverpool University Settlement and who, though he will not be speaking in his official capacity, is now working at the Ministry of Education as a Principal Officer for Youth Welfare. There will be opportunity for a full discussion. Tickets 1s. at door. Particulars from Patrick Figgis, PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

By an error the date of the WRI regional conference to be held at Leeds was given as Feb. 16 and 17. The correct date is Feb. 9 and 10.

VOICES

Edited by Denys Val Baker

Henry Miller. Mary Lavin. Mulk Raj Anand. William Sansom. Anna Kavan. Fred Urquhart. Vernon Watkins. Henry Treece. Dorothy K. Haynes. Norman Nicholson. Elizabeth Myers. Nicholas Moore. Ronald Mason. Reginald Moore. John Baylis. E. W. Martin. Wilfred Wellock. Dallas Kenmare are recent contributors.

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